ARTHUR MEMORIAL.

Engd by N.C. Hulitt, N.Y.

Chester A. Arthur

In Memoriam.

Chester A Arthur.

"this Duncan
"Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongu'd."

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SENATE AND ASSEMBLY

OF THE

State of New York,

IN RELATION TO THE DEATH OF

CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

HELD AT THE

CAPITOL, APRIL 20, 1887.

ALBANY:
WEED, PARSONS AND COMPANY,
1887.

In Memoriam.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Legislature of the State of New York

ON THE DEATH OF

Ex-President Chester A. Arthur.

IN SENATE:

FEBRUARY 4, 1887.

Mr. SMITH offered the following :

WHEREAS, Since the last annual session of the Legislature, the country has been called upon to mourn the death of one of the most eminent citizens of this State, ex-President CHESTER A. ARTHUR, and it is fitting that the Legislature should take measures for giving suitable expression to the sentiments of respect and esteem in which he was held by the people of this Commonwealth; therefore,

Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That a joint committee, consisting of three Senators and five Members of Assembly, be appointed by the presiding officers, respectively, of the two

Houses, with instructions to perfect and supervise arrangements for such a memorial service of the Legislature as will properly testify of the personal virtues and commemorate the distinguished public services of the deceased.

By unanimous consent, the PRESIDENT put the question whether the Senate would agree to said resolution, and it was decided in the affirmative.

The PRESIDENT appointed as such committee, on the part of the Senate, Messrs. SMITH, WALKER and PARKER.

IN ASSEMBLY.

FEBRUARY 7, 1887.

The Senate sent for concurence a resolution in the words following:

WHEREAS, Since the last annual session of the Legislature, the country has been called upon to mourn the death of one of the most eminent citizens of this State, ex-President CHESTER A. ARTHUR, and it is fitting that the Legislature should take measures for giving suitable expression to the sentiments of respect and esteem in which he was held by the people of this Commonwealth; therefore,

Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That a joint committee consisting of three Senators and five Members of Assembly, be appointed by the presiding officers, respectively, of the two Houses, with instructions to perfect and supervise arrangements for such a memorial service of the Legislature as will properly testify of the personal virtues and commemorate the distinguished public services of the deceased.

Mr. SPEAKER put the question whether the House would agree to said resolution, and it was determined in the affirmative.

Ordered, That the Clerk return said resolution to the Senate, with a message that the Assembly have concurred in the passage of the same.

IN ASSEMBLY:

FEBRUARY 15, 1887.

The Senate returned the concurrent resolution relative to memorial services of ex President CHESTER A. ARTHUR, with a message that the President had appointed as a committee on the part of the Senate, Senators SMITH, WALKER and PARKER.

Whereupon, Mr. SPEAKER announced as such committee on the part of the Assembly: Messrs. BURNS, of Westchester; KIMBALL, of St. Lawrence; EMERY, of Erie; IVES, of New York; FITCH, of Queens.

Ordered, That the Clerk return said resolution to the Senate, with a message that they have appointed a like committee on the part of the Assembly.

IN SENATE:

APRIL 1, 1887.

Mr. SMITH, from the special committee appointed for memorial services in memory of the late CHESTER A. ARTHUR, presented the following report :

To the Senate :

The undersigned committee, appointed to arrange for memorial services in honor of the late President of the United States, CHESTER A. ARTHUR, respectfully report that with a like committee appointed by the Assembly, they have arranged for such services to be held in the Assembly Chamber on the evening of April 20, 1887, at which time the Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York, and the Hon. BENJAMIN HARRIS BREWSTER, of Philadelphia, late Attorney-General of the United States, are expected to deliver eulogies suitable to the occasion.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN E. SMITH,
EDWARD C. WALKER,
AMASA J. PARKER, JR.,

Dated *March* 31, 1887. *Committee.*

IN ASSEMBLY:

APRIL 1, 1887.

Mr. BURNS, from the committee appointed to arrange for memorial services in honor of Hon. CHESTER A. ARTHUR, submitted the following report:

To the Assembly :

The undersigned committee, appointed to arrange for memorial services in honor of the late President of the United States, CHESTER A. ARTHUR, respectfully report that, with a like committee appointed by the Senate, they have arranged for such services to be held in the Assembly Chamber, on the evening of April 20, 1887, at which time the Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, of New York, and the Hon. BENJAMIN HARRIS BREWSTER, of Philadelphia, late Attorney-General of the United States, are expected to deliver eulogies suitable to the occasion.

All of which is respectfully reported.

J. IRVING BURNS,
WILLIAM H. KIMBALL,
EDWARD K. EMERY,
EUGENE S. IVES,
JOSEPH FITCH.

Dated *March* 31, 1887.

The exercises in honor of the memory of the late ex-President CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR, were held in the Assembly Chamber, and were attended by a distinguished audience. Most of the members of the Senate and Assembly, and State officers, with their wives, were present. Among the relatives of the ex-President present were Chester Alan

Arthur, Jr., Miss Nellie Arthur, James H. Masten, of Cohoes, Arthur H. Masten, Mr. and Mrs. John E. McElroy, Misses Mary and Jessie and Mr. Wm. H. McElroy. There were also present Marshal McMichael, of Washington, and Surrogate Rollins, of New York. The only decorations were American flags draped behind the Speaker's desk around a portrait of Mr. ARTHUR. Senator SMITH called the meeting to order and introduced Governor DAVID B. HILL as the Chairman. The Governor was received with hearty applause, and briefly returned thanks for the honor conferred. He said:

For the partiality of the joint committee in my selection to preside upon this occasion, I tender my acknowledgment. It is peculiarly appropriate that the Legislature of the State of New York should assemble to do honor to the memory of CHESTER A. ARTHUR, whose remains lie buried almost within sight of this capital city. You have selected able and eloquent orators to speak upon this occasion of the life, character and public services of the distinguished dead, and I shall not trespass upon the time which belongs to them, but will simply content myself with discharging the duties which have been assigned me. The first portion of the exercises will begin by prayer by the Rev. Mr. ECOB.

After prayer by the Rev. JAMES H. ECOB, pastor of the Second Presbyterian church, the

Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster, of Philadelphia, who was Attorney-General in President ARTHUR'S cabinet, spoke briefly but eloquently, of the character and services of the late ex-president. He was followed by the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

BY

BENJAMIN HARRIS BREWSTER

AND

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Address of Benjamin Harris Brewster.

GENTLEMEN:

We have been called by high authority to pay our united honors to the memory of our departed great. Having accepted the distinction bestowed upon me I will attempt to fulfill the duty I have assumed. Concerning the history and early career of General Arthur before he became the President I will not speak. Of that the gentleman who succeeds me will fully treat. Neither do I propose to relate the many public acts and events that were done and sanctioned by him when President. A detailed historical narrative will not answer the purpose of these solemnities. A few simple words of allusion to those acts is all that could be called for. I wish to bring together in one view his high qualities; his magnanimity; his gentleness, and all of the other traits of his nature which have commanded our love and honor.

The manly grief of a whole nation and a great people that was raised like a wild wail

of terrified sorrow on the frightful murder of Garfield was followed by a bewildered sense of public distrust and doubt. The hot partisan hostilities prevailing before that calamity were then inflamed by fierce and harsh misjudgments of General Arthur and all who were associated with him in close personal and political relations. With the knowledge of these hatreds before him and keenly conscious of the intense and painful sense of public anxiety and expectation, he calmly and firmly accepted the murdered President's place. He took the oath of office and at once issued that inaugural to the people of the nation, which I will here recite. By its solemn tones of wisdom, speaking by lawful authority, it dispelled all dread of commotion and subdued all anger.

"For the fourth time in the history of the republic its chief magistrate has been removed by death. All hearts are filled with grief and horror at the hideous crime which has darkened our land; and the memory of the murdered President, his protracted sufferings, his unyielding fortitude, the example and achievements of his life, and the pathos of his death, will forever illumine the pages of our history. For the fourth time the officer elected by the peo-

ple and ordained by the Constitution to fill a vacancy so created is called to assume the executive chair. The wisdom of our fathers, foreseeing even the most dire possibilities, made sure that the government should never be im periled because of the uncertainty of human life. Men may die, but the fabrics of our free institutions remain unshaken. No higher or more assuring proof could exist of the strength and permanence of popular government than the fact that, though the chosen of the people be struck down, his constitutional successor is peacefully installed, without shock or strain except the sorrow which mourns the bereavement. All the noble aspirations of my lamented predecessor which found expression in his life, the measures devised and suggested during his brief administration to correct abuses, to enforce economy, to advance prosperity, and promote the general welfare, to insure domestic security, and maintain friendly and honorable relations with the nations of the earth will be garnered in the hearts of the people, and it will be my earnest endeavor to profit and to see that the nation shall profit by his example and experience.

"Prosperity blesses our country, our fiscal

policy is fixed by law, is well grounded and generally approved. No threatening issue mars our foreign intercourse, and the wisdom, integrity and thrift of our people may be trusted to continue undisturbed the present assured career of peace, tranquillity and welfare. The gloom and anxiety which have enshrouded the country must make repose especially welcome now. No demand for speedy legislation has been heard; no adequate occasion is apparent for an unusual session of Congress. The Constitution defines the functions and powers of the Executive as clearly as those of either of the other two departments of government, and he must answer for the just exercise of the discretion it permits and the performance of the duties it imposes. Summoned to these high duties and responsibilities, and profoundly conscious of their magnitude and gravity, I assume the trust imposed by the Constitution, relying for aid on Divine guidance and the virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people."

Your admiration must here be excited by the display of the qualities of his mind in this his first great act when clothed with power.

"Mighty is the storm, but mightier the calm that binds the storm."

Our existence, like a stream, flows smoothly on, and then suddenly dashes itself in a dark abyss where all worldly honor and power are gone forever, swallowed up as rivers are by the ocean. It was thus that Garfield, in the first months of his advancement, was swept into that eternal gulf; but not to be forgotten. His horrid murder is yet remembered, and will be remembered with a sense of humility and sorrow. Penetrated with these emotions partaken by a whole nation, General Arthur took up the reins of public authority. From the hour that he felt the obligations of the high duties thus forced upon him he seemed by a sudden and natural aptitude to be filled with power to execute them. From that moment he made it evident to all that he knew what he ought to do, what he wanted to do, and how to do it. He was every inch a President. With deliberation he selected his Cabinet — a body of gentlemen whose acts have been approved, whose official lives with him and with each other were one of cordial unity. There was no discord, no contention in the history of that administration. The firm, just and peaceful qualities of its chief gave tone to the acts and utterances of his advisers.

From the first between him and the representatives of the nation there was established a sense of high respect. They saw at once that his purpose was the public good, not the perpetuation of party rule or personal power. He made it plain to them that his only law of official and personal life was to think the truth, act the truth, speak the truth. By his words and deeds he convinced them and the whole people of this nation that he believed in and lived by the ever-to-be-remembered preamble of our Constitution, which proclaims and declares that the true purpose of our government was and is "to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquillity, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the benefit of liberty to us and to our posterity forever."

When his convictions would not permit him to assent to acts presented to him for his approval he exercised his power of forbidding and dissenting in mild terms of wisdom and admonition that were received by Congress in the calm and friendly spirit with which they were given. He roused no sense of personal or political hostility or public discord. Words of objection uttered as an act of duty were

accepted with deference if not with acquiescence. He was trusted, honored, and applauded by them and by all men from the time he first met Congress to the time when he laid down his high public honors to pass into that private domestic life, where he was so much loved and wherein his own worth exalted him more than all the glories of his wise public career.

For the social and personal duties of this great office he was pre-eminently fit. I must speak of his presence as Tacitus in his affectionate panegyric describes his father-in-law, the great Agricola: "His figure was tall and comely; in his countenance there was nothing to inspire awe, but its character was generous and engaging. You would have readily believed him a good man and willingly a great one." There was never a man whose gracious elegance of manners better conformed to the refined usages of society. The public and the public men soon saw his fitness in the attractive hospitalities of the executive mansion — abundant, elegant, refined. The people were proud of the chief magistrate who could receive all with cordial dignity, and entertain with grace and liberality without waste or glittering pomp.

Thus passed his great public life. A time never to be forgotten, an era of public repose and of public and private prosperity, to which we all now look back with a sense of approval, I must say of praise, applauding him for securing it out of discord and maintaining it by his sense of justice and calm forbearance.

Because of his modest and unpretending career he was unknown by the people. At first they hesitated to accept him as fit, and then they were surprised when they found how suited he was for every exigency of his position. His mind was very prompt. He was resolute upon all principles of general public policy; but where his act would prejudice persons to their injury, such was the benevolence and gentleness of his nature that he would hesitate and act with reluctance. But when he did act he acted firmly always. He was stern with himself but liberal and forbearing with others. He had every attribute that one would wish to see in a chief executive. He never spoke of party politics, and always stood by what was right and practically proper. He was not visionary. He understood the world and men thoroughly. Their littleness did not sour his nature, for he was full of generosity. He had not a mean,

unmanly element in his character. He was heroic but not ostentatious. He had an extended experience in public affairs and a large knowledge in public history. He had various reading in every direction, and what he had read he remembered with elegant taste and great accuracy.

Beginning life in a frugal way, by steady industry he advanced his means, but his wishes as to that were moderate. He had no sordid thought in his mind. Money to him was but a means of personal independence — no more. He knew how a man may "gain the whole world and lose his own soul." And he lived up to that conviction. Thus far the public men of this country have all been of moderate means — most of them what would be called poor men. That is the glory and honor of the country. The plain, moderate people who organized our social and public life so ordained it. Our great offices were intended to be great honors, not sinecures. The compensation attached to the best of them will not equal that which any man can earn who is fit to have them, and it should be so.

Until of late there have been very few men holding high public honors who were rich or

even more than comfortable. The people distrust all those who, being poor, follow a public career, take office and become rich. Such rancid statesmen are objects of public hatred and ever will be. This country is ruled by two classes of workmen — the mechanics and men who work with their hands for their daily bread, and the men who work with their intellects and in the great professions. No such men can ever hope to be rich and possess estates, and they will forbid the advancement of the sordid — those who hold office to use it for gain. When they enter upon their career they, in effect, take a vow of poverty. They know they can never hope to acquire great wealth. At the best they can only obtain a moderate competency suitable to their condition in life. These men never will tolerate for official life as a class those who love money. They look upon all such as public enemies. As I have said, they hate them.

Can we not congratulate ourselves that we have come of such a lineage of simple, honest men, who loved God and not lucre; who loved God as He is the Father of natural and rational liberty — the liberty of obedience to law and subordination to natural and social duty? May we not exultingly say that a hundred years and

more of such national life, under such national principles, has brought us to this point of glory, the peaceful glory of a prosperous, plain people; of sixty millions who sprang from the few who sought refuge here, inspired with a belief in revelation and living strictly by a sense of moral duty, who erected a temple of human rights, into which all men who love law and obey order can enter and find happiness and peace.

Before I close these remarks I must remind you that all these fine qualities of his character were not unconsecrated by religious convictions. If this were wanting we could have found no consolation in our sorrow. His excellence of nature would have been but a shadow. He was trained in a home of religious teaching, by a father who taught him and others the truths of revealed religion. He was not tainted with any philosophical pretensions. He had no affinity with the hostile opinions of unbelievers. He was blasted with no such intellectual conceit. He believed that Christianity was the product of Divine revelation, not the result of human reason. That philosophy did not make it and could not destroy it. That it dwelt in realms of thought and understanding, far above the

region of the philosophy of schools. He thought that "to reduce Christianity to philosophy would be to strip it of the future and to strike it dead." That there is one science which is religious and another which is not, and that is impious science. By these convictions he lived and died.

Having thus recounted all that my disturbed and unhappy mind will permit me to express, overcome as I am, standing in the presence of those memories which endeared him to me, I feel I can say no more. My hand trembles as I write, and my mind refuses to express the thoughts and feelings with which it is now crowded. My heart is full of sorrow. My eyes are filled with tears. No sooner had he finished his great work than he was hurried to the grave. How this teaches us our nothingness and insignificance. Here he was exalted and honored above all men. And there he lies subdued by the mysterious forces of nature and doomed by the very law of our existence to fall, as it were, a victim for our warning. If we needed such terrors to wean us from our devotion to the world and its glories this calamity which we now consider should be sufficiently appalling.

Address of Chauncey M. Depew.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York:

The twenty-first President of the United States was the third from the State of New York who had filled that high office. The administration and personal career of each of them form marked features of our national history. The conditions which prepared them for public duty were strikingly alike. Each was the sole architect of his own fortunes and without the aid of family or wealth. They were of the type of most of the men who have always controlled parties and managed the government. Receiving in their youth the training and influence of christian homes, starting in life with no other endowment than health, character, courage and honorable ambition, they became leaders and rulers in their generations. The historian of the future will fill most of his pages, devoted to our first century, with the rise and fall of the slave power. In that story the parts of Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore and Chester A. Arthur

will be of dramatic interest. The revolt of Van Buren in 1848 was the first organized effort for freedom which had strength or votes. It assailed slavery in its strongest intrenchment, its hold upon the old parties.

In paving the way for their dissolution it opened the road for the union of men, hitherto arrayed against each other in hostile camps, upon this vital issue. With Van Buren as its leader, the anti-slavery sentiment crystallized into a powerful and aggressive organization. It broke up associations which had existed since the formation of the government, alarmed and infuriated the adherents of slavery and prepared the way for the inevitable conflict. Millard Fillmore sought to stay the storm by compromise, but when he signed the Fugitive Slave Law the storm became a cyclone. The enforcement of the law brought the horrors of slavery to every door. It aroused the old fire which had charged with Cromwell on the field and expounded liberty through Mansfield on the bench. It united the North in a solemn determination to save the country and free the Constitution from the dangers and disgrace of the system. It consolidated the South for a struggle to the death for its preservation. The

years following of agitation and preparation, the appeal to arms, the civil war with its frightful sacrifices of blood and treasure, the triumph of nationality and liberty, the reconstruction of the States upon the broadest and most generous principles, the citizenship of the freedman, the reconciliation of the rebel, gave first to President Arthur the glorious opportunity and privilege of constructing a message which most significantly marked the happy end of a century of strife, by its failure to allude to its causes, remedies ot results. Thus the first of the New York Presidents gave to anti-slavery a national party, the second, by an effort to compromise with evil, brought on the battle which ended in its destruction, and the administration of the third saw the regenerated and reunited Republic rising upon its ruins.

From his father he inherited that sturdy, Scotch-Irish blood, which for centuries has shown conspicuous aptitude for government and leadership, and he was early taught that with liberal education backed by the principles in which he was grounded, all gates could be unbarred and all avenues were open to him. With these motives work was pleasure, and difficulties were delights, in the fresh strength and confidence with which they were successively overcome.

The accepted hardships of teaching the country school and boarding around, the distractions of earning a living while fighting for a degree, toughen and develop the elastic fibres of American character. When Arthur had won the maximum honors of his college and completing his law studies was admitted to the bar, he was already a victor in the battle of life, and knew there were no dangers before him so great as those he had already overcome. The profession did not receive in him its frequent addition of a raw recruit whose steps have been so tenderly watched and taken for him, that he stands with difficulty and moves with timidity, but he had tested his powers and felt the confidence of a veteran.

It was natural that with his origin and training General Arthur should at once have enrolled on the side of anti-slavery. It was fortunate for his future that the opportunity came early to participate in a legal contest which was one of the decisive battles of that long struggle. Jonathan Lemmon, a Virginia slaveholder, undertook to remove to Texas by way of New York, carrying his slaves with him. The court was asked to discharge them on the ground that no man could be deprived of his liberty in this State without the authority of

the law. Virginia, through her Governor and Legislature, took up the cause of the slaveholder, and the Legislature of our State responded by employing counsel for the slaves. The most eminent men at the bar appeared on the one side or the other. The whole nation became interested in the conflict and mutterings of war were heard. Barriers were to be set to the encroachments of slavery, or it was to be virtually established everywhere. Political passions, commercial timidity, moral convictions, swayed and agitated the press and the courts. Behind the States rights and vested property arguments of the lawyers for Virginia were the threats of a dissolution of the union which had so often frightened northern constituencies, and cowed northern statesmen. But the advocates of liberty with unequaled boldness and ability pressed home the eternal principles of freedom embodied in the charters of the Fatherland, and embedded in our American Declarations and Constitutions, and our highest tribunal reiterated with phrase altered for us, Mansfield's immortal judgment, "a slave cannot breathe the air of England." The same decision had been eloquently and vigorously rendered by William H. Seward, while Governor of our

State years before, but it received little attention or approval. Then, as often afterward, this great statesman was nearly a generation in advance of his cotemporaries on the most important of questions. While this case settled the status of the slave brought within our jurisdiction, the rights of free colored people in our midst were violated daily. General Arthur championed the cause of a poor woman, who because of her race was refused a seat and ejected from a car, and in the success of the litigation, principles which after the civil war could only receive recognition and obedience by congressional enactment and constitutional amendment became parts of the fixed jurisprudence of the State. He was never a brilliant advocate. He did not possess those rare qualities which win verdicts from unwilling juries and force decisions from hostile courts, but he early took and held the important place of wise and safe counsel and adviser. Tact, sense, and quick appreciation of the right were qualities he possessed in such high degree, that they were the elements of his success, not only at the bar, but in the administration of public trusts.

This so impressed Governor Morgan that he

assigned him to the most important position of recruiting and equipping New York's quota in the President's call for troops. The situation was of unparalleled novelty and danger. Generations of peace and prosperity had left the State with a holiday military system and ignorant of war. The problems of camps, depots, supplies, armaments, transportation, which require a liberal education to solve, were suddenly precipitated upon men unprepared and untrained. To collect, feed, uniform, arm and forward to the front tens of thousands of raw recruits, required great ability and unimpeachable integrity.

An army larger than the combined Continental forces of the Revolution was marching to Washington from New York by regiments as completely equipped as they were hastily gathered. The pressing needs of the government on the one hand and the greed of the contractor on the other were spurs and perils of the organizing officer. It is one of the proudest records of General Arthur's life that he surrendered his position to a successor of hostile political faith, to receive from him the highest compliments for his work and to return to his profession a poorer man than when he assumed office.

Activity in public affairs and strong political bias were inevitable in a man of such experience and characteristics. The fate of empire depended upon the issue of the tremendous questions which agitated the country during these years. Party spirit ran high and parties were organized and officered like contending armies. A great party must have leadership and discipline. Revolts become necessary at times against corrupt, incompetent or selfish leadership, but constitutional government cannot be successfully conducted by political guerrillas and bushwhackers.

If the common judgment of mankind is the voice of God, the controlling sentiment of great parties are their best policies. But that sentiment must needs be voiced and receive expression in the practical measures of government by commanding authority. There have been in our history few party leaders of the first class who possessed those wonderful gifts which secure the confidence and sway the actions of vast masses of men. But there have been many who could combine and consolidate the organization for work in the field when the canvass was critical. Among these, General Arthur held a high rank, and the length and vigor of his rule and the loyal devotion

of his friends were lasting tributes to his merits. It was the natural result that the President should require him to hold a representative position. The Collectorship of the Port of New York was at that time the key to the political fortunes of the Administration. The Collector was, in a sense, a Cabinet officer, the dispenser of party patronage, and the business agent of the government at the commercial capital of the nation. The peculiar difficulties of the place had permanently consigned to private life every man who ever held it. To make mistakes, to provoke calumny, to create enmities, were the peculiar opportunities of the office. That Arthur should have been unanimously confirmed for a second term and died an ex-President of the United States are the best evidences of his integrity, wisdom and tact.

A long lease of power creates not only a desire for change but develops internal antagonisms. Both these dangers were very threatening in the campaign of 1880. The first was a present and increasing force, and success was impossible unless all discordant elements were harmonized. Garfield and Arthur as the representatives of the hostile factions were singularly fitted to accomplish this re-

sult. Their selection contributed enormously to the triumph of their cause. Garfield the boy on the tow-path, the university alumnus, the learned professor, the college president, the gallant soldier, the congressional leader, the United States Senator and brilliant orator, enthusiastic, generous and impulsive, presented a most picturesque, captivating and dashing candidate, while Arthur's cool judgment, unequaled skill, commanding presence, and rare gifts for conciliating and converting revengeful partisans into loyal and eager followers, brought behind his chief a united and determined party. But no sooner was the victory won than the internal strife was renewed with intensified bitterness. In demonstrating the evils and power of patronage, it gave effective impetus to the triumph of civil service reform. The struggle was transferred from Washington to Albany, and this Capitol became the field for the most envenomed and passionate contest of the century. The whole Republic was involved in the conflict. Upon it depended the control of the government. Vice-President Arthur, whose loyalty to his friends was the central motive of his life, deemed it his duty to come here and take command of the forces on the one side, while

a share in the conduct of the other devolved upon me. The murderous fury of the fray dissolved friendships of a life-time, but I hail with profound gratification the fact that ours survived it. The bullet of Guiteau struck down President Garfield, and in the whirlwind of resentment and revenge, General Arthur, by the very necessity of his position, became the object of most causeless and cruel suspicion and assault. But in that hour the real greatness of his character became resplendent. The politician gave place to the statesman, and the partisan to the President. As a spent ball having missed its mark is buried in the heart of a friend, so the dying passions of the civil war by one mad and isolated crime murdered Abraham Lincoln, the one man in the country who had the power and disposition to do at once, for those whom the assassin proposed to help and avenge, all that was afterward accomplished through many years of probation, humiliation and suffering. But in the death of Garfield, the spoils system, which dominated parties, made and unmade statesmen, shaped the policy of the government and threatened the integrity and perpetuity of our institutions, received a

fatal blow. It aroused the country to the perils both to the proper conduct of the business of the government and to the government itself.

A morbid sentiment that the civil service was a Pretorian Guard to be recruited from the followers of the successful chief without regard to the fitness of the officer removed or the qualifications of the man who took his place, created the moral monstrosity — Guiteau. The spoils system murdered Garfield, and the murder of Garfield shattered the system. The months during which President Garfield lay dying by the sea at Elberon were phenomenal in the history of the world. The sufferer became a member of every household in the land, and in all countries, tongues and creeds, sympathetic prayers ascended to God for the recovery of the great ruler beyond the ocean who had sprung from the common people and illustrated the possibilities for the individual where all men are equal before the law. While he who was to succeed him if he died, though in no place and in no sense charged with sympathy with the assassination, yet was made to feel a national resentment and distrust which threatened his usefulness and even his life. Whether

he spoke or was silent he was alike misrepresented and misunderstood. None but those most intimate with him can ever know the agony he suffered during those frightful days, and how earnestly he prayed that, in the returning health of his chief, he might be spared the fearful trial of his death. When the end came for General Garfield, Arthur entered the White House as he had taken the oath of office — alone. A weaker man would have succumbed, a narrower one have seized upon the patronage and endeavored to build up his power by strengthening his faction. But the lineage and training of Arthur stood in this solemn and critical hour for patriotism and manliness. Friends, co-workers within the old lines, and associates under the old conditions looking for opportunities, for recognition or for revenge, retired chastened and enlightened from the presence of the President of the United States.

The man had not changed. He was the same genial, companionable and loving gentleman, but in the performance of public duty he rose to the full measure and dignity of his great office. It was the process which has been witnessed before among our statesmen, where under the pressure of sudden and

grave responsibilities the evolution of character and capacity which would, under ordinary conditions, have taken a life-time or, perhaps, never matured, culminate in a moment. The most remarkable example in our history was Abraham Lincoln, and in a lesser degree, Edwin M. Stanton and Salmon P. Chase. The cold and hesitating constituency which expected the President to use for the personal and selfish ends and ambitions of himself and friends the power so suddenly and unexpectedly acquired, saw the chief magistrate of a mighty nation so performing his duties, so administering his trust, so impartially acting for the public interests and the public welfare, that he entered upon the second year of his term in the full possession of the confidence of his countrymen.

The grateful task of review and portrayal of the history of his administration has been most worthily assigned in these ceremonies to the learned, eloquent and eminent lawyer who was the Attorney-General in his Cabinet.

President Arthur will be distinguished both for what he did and what he refrained from doing. The strain and intensity of public feeling, the vehemence of the angry and vindictive passions of the time, demanded the rarest

of negative as well as positive qualities. The calm and even course of government allayed excitement and appealed to the better judgment of the people. But though not aggressive or brilliant, his administration was sensible and strong and admirably adjusted to the conditions which created and attended it. He spoke vigorously for the reform and improvement of the civil service, and when Congress, acting upon his suggestions, enacted the law, he constructed the machinery for its executions which has since accomplished most satisfactory, though as yet incomplete results. On questions of currency and finance he met the needs of public and private credit, and the best commercial sentiment of the country. He knew the necessity for efficient coast defenses and a navy equal to the requirements of the age. He keenly felt the weakness of our merchant marine and the total destruction of the proud position we had formerly held among the maritime nations of the world, and did what he could to move Congress to wise and patriotic legislation. When the measures of his period are crowded into oblivion by the rapid and ceaseless tread of the events of each hour, in our phenomenal development and its needs, two acts of dramatic picturesqueness and his-

torical significance will furnish themes for the orator and illustrations for the academic stage of the future.

The centennial of the final surrender at Yorktown which marked the end of the Revolutionary war and the close of English rule was celebrated with fitting splendor and appropriateness. The presence of the descendants of Lafayette and Steuben as the guests of the nation typified the undying gratitude of the Republic for the services rendered by the great French patriot and his countrymen, and by the famous German soldier. But the President, with characteristic grace and tact, determined that the ceremonies should also officially record that all feelings of hostility against the mother country were dead. He directed that the celebration should be closed by a salute fired in honor of the British flag, as he felicitously said, "in recognition of the friendly relations so long and so happily subsisting between Great Britain and the United States, in the trust and confidence of peace and good-will between the two countries for all the centuries to come," and then he added the sentence which might be America's message of congratulation at the Queen's Jubilee this summer, "and especially as a mark of the pro-

found respect entertained by the American people for the illustrious sovereign and gracious lady who sits upon the British throne."

General Grant was dying of a lingering and most painful disease. Manifold and extraordinary misfortunes had befallen him and his last days were clouded with great mental distress and doubt. The old soldier was most anxious to know that his countrymen freed him, and would hold his memory sacred from all blame in connection with the men and troubles with which he had become so strangely, innocently and most inextricably involved. Whether his life should suddenly go out in the darkness, or be spared for an indefinite period was largely dependent upon some act which would convey to him the confidence and admiration of the people. Again were illustrated both General Arthur's strong friendship and his always quick and correct appreciation of the expression of popular sentiment. By timely suggestions to Congress, speedily acted upon, he happily closed the administration by affixing as its last official act his signature to the nomination, which was confirmed with tumultuous cheers, creating Ulysses S. Grant, General of the Army. The news flashed to the hero, with affectionate message, rescued him from the grave, to enjoy

for months the blissful assurance that comrades and countrymen had taken his character and career into their tender and watchful keeping.

There has rarely been in the history of popular governments so great a contrast as in the public appreciation of General Arthur at the time of his inauguration and when he retired from office. The President, of whom little was expected and much feared, returned to private life, enjoying in a larger degree than most of his predecessors the profound respect and warm regard of the people without distinction of party. He was a warm-hearted, social, pleasure-loving man, but capable of the greatest industry, endurance and courage. He dearly loved to gratify his friends, but if he thought the public interests so required no one could more firmly resist their desires or their importunities. By his dignity and urbanity, and his rich possession of the graces which attract and adorn in social intercourse, he gave a new charm to the hospitalities of the White House. Though the son of a country clergyman and unfamiliar with courts, in him the veteran courtiers of the old world found all the culture, the proper observance of ceremonial proprieties and the indications of power which surround Emperors and Kings of ancient lineage and hereditary posi-

tions, but tempered by a most attractive republican simplicity. He said to me early in his administration, "My sole ambition is to enjoy the confidence of my countrymen." Toward this noble ideal he strove with undeviating purpose. Even in the mistakes he made could be seen his manly struggle to be right. Once again in private station and resuming the practice of his profession, he moved among his fellow citizens receiving the homage and recognition which came of their pride in the way he had borne the honors and administered the duties of the Chief Magistracy of the Republic.

In his last illness he had the sympathy and prayers of the nation, and the grand gathering of the men most distinguished in every department of our public and private life, who sorrowfully bore him to the grave, was the solemn tribute of the whole people through their representatives to his worth as a man and his eminence as a public servant.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

OF THE

SENATE AND ASSEMBLY.

STATE OF NEW YORK:

IN SENATE,

April 28, 1887.

Mr. SMITH offered the following:

Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That there be printed under the direction of the Clerks of the Senate and Assembly, three thousand copies of the proceedings of the Legislature, and the memorial orations of the Hon. BENJAMIN H. BREWSTER and the Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, on the death of Ex-President CHESTER A. ARTHUR, for the use of the members of the Legislature, five hundred copies each for the use of Messrs. BREWSTER and DEPEW, five hundred copies for the family of the deceased, and five hundred copies for the officers and reporters of the Legislature.

STATE OF NEW YORK:
IN SENATE,
April 28, 1887.

The foregoing resolution was duly passed.
By order of the Senate.
JOHN W. VROOMAN,
Clerk.

STATE OF NEW YORK:
IN ASSEMBLY,
May 11, 1887.

The foregoing resolution was duly concurred in.
By order of the Assembly.
CHAS. A. CHICKERING,
Clerk.